PROPOSED OUTLINE

FOR REMARKS BY

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TO THE

AMERICAN DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS ASSOCIATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

- A. BUSH U.N. SPEECH, SEPTEMBER 25, UNDERSCORES CHANGE IN THE EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP.
 - 1. WILLINGNESS BY U.S. AND U.S.S.R. TO DEAL CONSTRUCTIVELY AND CANDIDLY WITH DIFFERENCES.
 - 2. ACHIEVEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN ARMS CONTROL.
- B. THE SOVIETS HAVE COMPELLING REASONS FOR GREATER COOPERATION WITH THE WEST.
 - 1. SOVIET SYSTEM IS IN CRISIS.
 - 2. SOVIETS ARE DRIVEN TO ENSURE OWN ECONOMIC SURVIVAL.
 - 3. TO DO THIS, THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO BETTER BALANCE THEIR CIVILIAN AND MILITARY SECTORS.

- II. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS ANNOUNCED THAT SOVIET NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES ARE TO BE REVISED.
 - A. SOVIET NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY IS TO BE BASED ON "REASONABLE, SUFFICIENT DEFENSE."
 - 1. THIS INVOLVES RESTRUCTURING SOVIET STANDING FORCES.
 - A. ADOPTING A "DEFENSIVE" FORCE POSTURE IN THE BELIEF THAT WAR WITH THE WEST IS UNLIKELY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.
 - B. EFFORT HAMPERED BY LACK OF COORDINATED

 STRATEGY AND RESISTANCE FROM VARIOUS ELEMENTS

 WHICH FEEL THREATENED BY CHANGE.
 - 2. THIS POLICY CALLS FOR UNILATERAL FORCE WITHDRAWALS AND REDUCTIONS ANNOUNCED BY GORBACHEV LAST DECEMBER AT THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY. SPECIFICALLY:

- A. 50,000 MEN AND 5,000 TANKS ARE TO BE
 WITHDRAWN FROM SOVIET FORCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
 EAST GERMANY, AND HUNGARY.
- B. 10,000 TANKS, 8,500 ARTILLERY SYSTEMS, AND
 800 COMBAT AIRCRAFT ARE TO BE ELIMINATED FROM THE ...
 ATLANTIC-TO-THE-URALS ZONE.
- C. OVERALL SOVIET MILITARY MANPOWER IS TO BE REDUCED BY 500,000.
- 3. NEW POLICY REQUIRES REDUCTION IN MILITARY BUDGET.

 GORBACHEV REVEALED PLANS EARLIER THIS YEAR TO REDUCE

 THE MILITARY BUDGET BY 14.2 PERCENT AND WEAPONS

 PRODUCTION BY 19.5 PERCENT BY 1991.
- 4. LEADERSHIP PROMISES TO REDIRECT DEFENSE INDUSTRY RESOURCES TO CIVIL PROGRAMS.
 - A. WILL USE SKILLED MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE CIVILIAN SECTOR.

- B. WILL CONVERT EXISTING MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO CIVIL USE.
- C. BUT THERE ARE MANY OBSTACLES TO SUCCESSFUL REVISION OF SOVIET NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES.
 - 1. RESISTANCE TO CHANGE BY THE PARTY AND BUREAUCRACY.
 - 2. LEADERSHIP DISTRACTED BY DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.
 - A. STRIKES -- WORKERS NOT REAPING REWARDS OF REFORMS FAST ENOUGH. COAL MINERS' STRIKE IN SIBERIA AND THE UKRAINE IN JULY COST THE STATE BILLIONS OF RUBLES.
 - B. ETHNIC UNREST UPHEAVAL IN BALTIC
 REPUBLICS, MOLDAVIA, AND AZERBAIJAN PUTS
 NATIONALISTS ON COLLISION COURSE WITH MOSCOW.
 - C. OVERWHELMING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CENTRAL

 PRICING SYSTEM, HYPERINFLATION, AND WEAK CURRENCY.

- III. CHALLENGES FOR THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.
 - A. DETERMINE WHAT IS SIGNIFICANT AND WHAT IS RHETORIC.
 - 1. EVALUATE INCREASING AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION UNDER GLASNOST.
 - 2. VERIFY REDUCTIONS IN THE MILITARY AND IN DEFENSE SPENDING.
 - 3. DETERMINE HOW FAR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS WILLING TO GO IN CARRYING OUT ITS PLANS AND INTENTIONS TO REFORM.
 - B. ASSESS IMPLICATIONS OF DISINTEGRATING CENTER IN SOVIET UNION.
 - 1. POTENTIAL FOR BALKANIZATION.
 - 2. CHANGING BASES OF POWER AND EMERGENCE OF MULTIPOLAR WORLD.
 - SHIFTING ALLIANCES AND PRESSURE ON NATO.

IV. CONCLUSION

- A. DESPITE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS AND ANNOUNCED PLANS TO

 TRANSFER MILITARY RESOURCES TO THE CIVILIAN SECTOR, SOVIET

 MILITARY STRENGTH REMAINS FORMIDABLE.
- B. IN THIS ERA OF CHANGE, INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT.
- C. WE MUST BE PARTICULARLY ALERT TO INCREASING ILLEGAL SOVIET ACQUISITION OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT.
 - 1. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY MUST IDENTIFY SOVIET NEEDS FOR WESTERN EQUIPMENT THAT WOULD BENEFIT THEIR FUTURE WEAPON SYSTEMS.
 - 2. MUST HELP POLICYMAKERS MAKE INFORMED DECISIONS
 ABOUT EXPORT CONTROL IN AN ERA IN WHICH INTERNATIONAL
 TRADE IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT.
- D. INFORMATION THE U.S. BUSINESS COMMUNITY VOLUNTARILY PROVIDES IS IMPORTANT TO US.

- 1. CAN HELP THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IN MAKING
 ACCURATE ASSESSMENTS ON ISSUES SUCH AS TECHNOLOGY
 TRANSFER.
- 2. THIS INFORMATION WILL HELP OUR POLICYMAKERS DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA WITHOUT SACRIFICING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.
- E. UNDERSTANDING THE CHANGING EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP —

 AND EXAMINING IT IN LIGHT OF ALL THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE

 TO US IS CRITICAL. WHAT HAPPENS IN THE U.S.S.R. AFFECTS

 EASTERN EUROPE, WESTERN EUROPE, AND NATO, AND ULTIMATELY

 AFFECTS OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST.